PEACE NEWS

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To meet in Geneva on Monday : Christian Herter (USA), Selwyn Lloyd (UK) and Andrei Gromyko (USSR).

GENEVA 1959 : THESE ARE GUILTY MEN

. . . and we have not protested enough

By Christopher Farley

THE Foreign Ministers' meeting which opens on Monday at Geneva has already raised high hopes among millions of ordinary people whose fate is dictated at such conferences.

Although this is thought to be only the first of a series of top level talks, and despite the conservative character of the conditions which shape the results of such meetings, it is clear that the great majority of people look to Geneva with hope.

Through such talks as these, they believe, lies the way forward out of the nuclear dilemma.

The men who have taken us all to the brink of world disaster are now expected to be able to lead us out of this nightmare situation.

The blame does not lie solely with them. Few people can honestly claim to have protested enough. But it is the representatives of the Great Powers who have deliberately developed the policies which have led inevitably to the threat of human extinction.

No negotiations

In this the architects of foreign policy have not been greatly disturbed. In the Foreign Affairs debate in the House of Commons on April 27th, the British Foreign Secretary declared :

> "Turning to general disarmament, we have no detailed negotiations on general disarmament proceeding at present, nor are any at present contemplated. . ."

What is it hoped to achieve at Geneva ? Mr. Selwyn Lloyd explained last week :

> "First, some progress towards the reunification of Germany on acceptable terms; secondly, reaffirmation of the right of the people of West Berlin to choose their own system of society, and also acceptance of the need for satisfactory arrangements for the free access to West Berlin upon which this freedom depends; and, thirdly, a reduction in tension and an improvement of stability in Europe. Above all, we want a real negotiation."

About two minutes later in the same speech the British Foreign Secretary continued:

> "We go as one of the four Powers with responsibilities, rights and obligations in regard to Berlin. We also go as a member of the NATO Alliance. We have been preparing our position for some time. . ."

The "negotiations" which will take place will evidently be conducted with the Western Ministers firmly in the NATO straitjacket.

The position that the Western Powers will adopt at Geneva has been unanimously approved by the NATO Permanent Council.

During the Geneva discussions, moreover, liaison will be maintained between Western Ministers and the NATO Permanent Council.

It has become clear that NATO cannot be an agent to what even Mr. Selwyn Lloyd now calls "the elimination of this feeling of imminent crisis."

Berlin's fate

At Geneva, therefore, we can expect to see an evasion of the true character of the situation. For example, the Powers which 15 years ago sent out obliteration bombing raids night after night to Berlin are now showing a concern for the fate of the people of that city.

The Consultative Assembly of the Council of Europe recently adopted a resolution which upheld "the right of the inhabitants of West Berlin to live in freedom and security and to have free communications with the West."

The Kremlin has proposed that Berlin should become a "free City."

All this talk about freedom is propaganda claptrap. As long as the people of Berlin live in daily fear of being "liberated" by a nuclear catastrophe they can never be free.

In all the controversy about the unity of the Western Powers during the past two and a half years it has been shown that the continuation of NATO is held to be more important than the success of any negotiations.

Just how conservative is the NATO framework is shown by the British Foreign Secretary's report on recent deliberations :

> "All our Allies rejected disengagement. Not one voice was raised in favour of this conception in the NATO Council."

Mr. Selwyn Lloyd sees his responsibility as "to further peaceful settlements, but, at the same time, maintain the vital interests of our Allies and ourselves."

This is the great illusion which rendered the League of Nations useless in the 'thirties. All the Powers professed peace but at the same time they all wanted "security"—which they interpreted as their military strength. The arms race was thus continued to its conclusion.

Today the Foreign Ministers still want the best of both worlds. They talk of peace and are not prepared to pay the price for it—the abandonment of the idea that anything can be preserved by a gigantic arms race.

There is no way forward within the military framework of the Great Powers.

The Cold War has developed a momentum of its own in which its major instruments, such as NATO and the Warsaw Pact, dictate the political conditions that shall prevail.

In this situation it is the renunciation of weapons and withdrawal from the power struggle that are of the first importance.

The pacifists and those who campaign for nuclear disarmament have a quite different approach to power politics : to get right out of it and thereby start creating the conditions in which genuine change can take place.

Those who sit down at rocket bases are acting on this truth. Those who sit down at Geneva are prevented by their own military machines from making a choice with hope.

It is quite unrealistic to denounce the arms race and then to support its chief proponents who are operating on all its assumptions.

It has been argued that at least Mr. Macmillan has shown up well on the road to the Summit. He could hardly have done otherwise when compared with the other Heads of Western States: they are *all* old conservative gentlemen, but France and Germany are ruled by a pair of autocrats, and across the Atlantic the Golfing President shows himself repeatedly at his Press Conferences to be incapable of grasping even the elements of major problems.

Bankruptcy

Those in Britain, including the vocal "Left," who unite in applauding their Tory Prime Minister are merely revealing their own bankruptcy in not putting forward a policy founded on quite different principles.

There are no short cuts to peace. It will not come through the threats, the bluffs and the bargaining of the militarily minded using the conference room as the ante-chamber to the battlefield.

The brotherhood of men can be built when we refuse to tolerate the weapons and policies of the Great Powers and set out to implement this policy ourselves.

MACLEOD of IONA on Christians and Atomic War

THE VERY REV. DR. GEORGE MACLEOD, *former Moderator of the Church of Scotland and leader of the Iona Community, reviews the British Council of Churches Report on "Christians and Atomic War,"* ON PAGE 6. *A former captain in the Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders, he was awarded the Military Cross and the Croix de Guerre in World War I and is Hon. Chaplain to the Toc H in Scotland. He is known in North America as a former Missioner in British Columbia lumber camps and as the first holder* (1954-5) *of the Fosdick Professorship at Union Theological Seminary, New York.*

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AT THE EXECUTION A REBEL MURMURED:

'I have a pain in my soul'

By Hiram Hilty

The writer, who is Professor of Spanish at Guildford College, North Carolina, was sent by the American Friends Service Committee to Cuba immediately following the revolution.

THERE can be no doubt that the Cuban public has enthusiastically supported the post-civil war executions. The suffering under Batista was very real and the memory of loved ones tortured and killed is still too fresh to allow much sympathy for those who are now receiving what is believed to be justice. Yet it is also true that in themselves the executions are shocking acts of violence which in more sober times would revolt the Cuban people. After all, the Constitution of 1940 abolished the death penalty and during the period of constitutional government, punishment for even major crimes was relatively light.

Time magazine, in its own vivid way, described the most repulsive of the executions (January 26, 1959):

A priest led two of the prisoners through the glare to truck headlights to the edge of the trench and then stepped back. Six rebel executioners fired, and the bodies fell into the grave. Two more prisoners stepped forward, then two more —and the grave slowly filled. . .

On a hill overlooking the range, a crowd gathered and cheered as each volley rang out. "Kill them, kill them," the spectators bellowed. As the death toll reached 52 and the pit was halfway full, one rebel murmured: "Get it over quickly. I have a pain in my soul."

By noon 70 prisoners had died.

A few others, too, had "pains in their souls." During the week of the "showcase trials" in Havana I visited a sensitive young woman Quaker there, and she was eager to talk when I raised the question.

"Here I have been all alone in this great city, watching the trials on television and hearing the crowds cheer. And I have looked at the faces of the accused and have felt sorry for them. But so far as I can tell I am the only one.

Women protest

"Women as well as men shout 'kill them.' The Catholic Church has come out in favour of the executions—and even our own Council of Protestant Churches has done so too.

"But they are not speaking for me. I have considered my peculiar state of mind and my lonely condition and I have asked myself 'Am I crazy?'"

This girl, Nancy Torres, was one of a Quaker team of three who a few days later presented a letter of protest concerning the executions to the then Prime Minister, Miró Cardona. It was possibly the first voice of protest raised openly by Cubans in Cuba. Some weeks later, when Fidel Castro was installed as Prime Minister, a group of women carried placards calling for an end to the executions.

On February 22, 1959, Luis Rolando Cabrera published a revealing interview (in the Havana magazine Bohemia) with Dr. Concepción Alonso, woman legal counsel for Raúl Castro during the revolution and later successively prosecutor and member of military tribunals in the trials of war criminals. She vigorously defends the executions.

During the interview the Catholic priest, Father Cabebe (one of the confessors for the 70 men executed) is present and comments occasionally.

The priest recognises the justice of those sentences, but he confesses that for many nights the memory of that spectacle did not permit him to sleep easily. But he went there to perform his sacred duty as a priest—to offer consolation to the condemned in the last moments of their lives.

The prosecutor, Dr. Alonso, interjects that "the boys," those who made up the firing squad, are currently in a "disastrous" nervous state. "You can't even talk about it to a lot of them."

Luis Cabrera continues:

And it is not because anyone doubts that the executions are necessary. It is simply that they were not used to killing like that. This is to be expected. For the woman cast in the role of prosecutor, for the other members of the tribunal, for the officers who gave the order to fire, for the members of the firing squad it is bound to have been an unforgettable experience, something that will last a long time and be firmly imprinted on the subconscious. But it was necessary; they didn't do it because they wanted to or because they got some pleasure or satisfaction out of it. Others, with their deeds, forced them to do it.

We remembered the early morning hours of that day. We had heard that many of the condemned expressed themselves, in the hour of death, against those whom they considered responsible for the situation in which they found themselves. Now it is confirmed. There were indeed some victims who cried: "Long live the Revolution" when they faced the firing squad, and "Death to Batista," the real culprit.

Wide of the mark

Father Cabebe added:

Sometimes it looked like anything but what it really was. The condemned and the members of the rebel firing squad mingled together. The boys offered cigarettes to the victims and they smoked nervously until the fatal moment arrived. All the condemned marched to their deaths two-by-two. Only Despaigne died alone. He tried to play the role of hero and asked that he be permitted to give the order to fire to the firing squad. This privilege was allowed and he spoke the fateful words: "Attention. Ready. Aim. Fire."

In Santa Clara in January I had gleaned still further evidence of the "pain in the soul" of those charged with spilling the blood of their brothers.

The Reverend Mario Grillo, minister of the Church of God, told me that he had been invited to bring the consolations of religion to numbers of the victims of the firing squad in that city. He took me to the place of execution, but explained that he had always turned away before the final moment. He also pointed out to me that there were pock-marks on the wall against which the victims stood that were so wide of the mark, sometimes high above or nearly on the ground, that they could not possibly have been accounted for by poor marksmanship.

Some of the boys had so much "pain in their souls" that they deliberately missed their victims.

Classical liberalism looks at 1959

B. G. Cooper reviews

Freedom Chooses Slavery, by J. Freire d'Andrade. Allen and Unwin, 15s.

IN spite of the economic trauma visited upon the post-1914 generations—perhaps, indeed, because of them—Mr. Andrade retains the breezy assumptions of 19th century classical liberalism. As a result, the controversial impact of many of his statements is blunted by the sense of remoteness from 1959 which many of them engender.

In discussing unsound currency the basic principles of contemporary social justice are implicitly called into question; the argument "economic events are the product of our individual actions" smacks too much of the naïvete of the Manchester School and shows insufficient appreciation of the extent to which the mass-market—and the mass-mind—is manipulated by the ad. agencies in the interests of industrial oligopoly.

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The author's thesis is basically simple: unfettered free trade and international banking produced an unprecedented degree of global economic advance, personal liberty, and the world order of the Pax Britannica. Nineteen-thirty-one brought down the final curtain; for Mr. Andrade, the monetary crash was not simply one of the greatest among many other periodic failures in the history of capitalism, it was a fundamental change in kind. The failure to re-establish full and free interchange of goods and persons in the 'thirties, and the scramble to erect tariff walls, have produced the contemporary economic set-up in which protectionism's results cannot be confined to the world of finance.

National autarchy; the quest for internal socio-economic well-being at all costs; international controls—such are the progenitors of all modern evils. Inflation, distrust between nations and the restriction of personal freedom have all resulted from neglect of the precepts of the Anti-Corn-Law League. The over-simplifications of this analysis are self-evident, its elements of truth are common knowledge.

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In his desire for international order and a lasting basis for world peace the author arouses a readier sympathy, but few will accept his demands for a Pax Americana in the classical imperial mould. America's belief in liberty and national self-determination has prevented her assuming the destiny-appointed role of guardian and protector of a world-wide order embodying the American way of life; this contradiction in American policy has given rise to movements of nationalism the author sees as destructive and retrogressive. The infantile superficiality of such arguments forfeits the author's right to serious consideration on the vital issues he deals with.

While treating of the economically disastrous nature of all wars, and while arguing that we must emphasise the nature of money as payment for communally-valuable effort—a salutary salvo against the prevailing premium bondage—the author is on firm ground. Elsewhere his arguments flounder in a morass of half-truths, even sheer blindness, about contemporary political geography. The legitimate national aspirations of the African and Asian peoples are seen as products of Soviet spy schools, and slick economic solutions are argued with Poujadesque emotive verbiage. There is only one useful purpose this book can serve: to remind us that the task of educating our fellows in the fundamental principles of mutual service, both personally and internationally, and of the sterility of self-assertion by any nation, has hardly begun.

PEOPLE AND PLACES

A soldier's warning

"SEE to it, England, when the fighting is over and the victory won, that the results and purposes for which so many of your sons are dying, are not lost. Ten, twenty, fifty years hence, see to it that they have not died in vain."

These words were written by a soldier serving in the trenches in 1914 and appeared that year in the Finchley Press. The paper printed them again last month at the head of a profile of the man who wrote them.

Now 80 years old, Charles Marland is still "seeing to it," and is actively campaigning for peace and assisting in the distribution of Peace News. During the last few years he has visited Leningrad, Moscow, Jamaica and many towns and cities in the USA, Canada and Germany, spreading his great idea "To liberate my friends from the thraldom of war and the war spirit."

Peace News' readers will remember a few years ago how Charles Marland went through an Army Camp in the South of England distributing anti-war literature, risking arrest in doing so. He was detained for an hour or more and questioned by Admiralty detectives.

A prison thrill

CARLO TATUM, secretary of the War Resisters' International, was on his very best form last week, as the following reminiscence of Frank Lloyd Wright, the great architect and intellectual rebel who died a few weeks ago, indicates:

Although it was seventeen years ago, I still remember well my only personal contact with Frank Lloyd Wright.

Two of my fellow convicts in the Federal Correctional Institution at Sandstone, Minnesota, were students—or perhaps disciples—of Wright's, in prison for refusing military service. Like their teacher, they considered war to be a sub-human activity brought about by moral midgets called politicians. He was not noted for his tolerance.

When Frank Lloyd Wright requested permission to visit his two followers, the prison Warden refused. Undaunted, Wright approached James Bennett, the everlasting Director of the Federal Bureau of Prisons, and offered to give an unspecified number of lectures to prison audiences throughout the United States. Presumably the subject was to be architecture. I happen to like Mr. Bennett, which is another tale. Anyway, it is to Bennett's credit that he accepted the offer.

Frank Lloyd Wright picked Sandstone as the prison for his first lecture in the series. There was some excitement when the day approached and, although attendance was not compulsory, the auditorium was packed with a magnificent cross-section of America's criminal class, including me.

Those of us who knew that Wright was there against the wishes of the Warden were in a particularly good mood. The Warden was not. He was nonetheless at the meeting, flanked by his underling officials, and had taken the unusual precaution of lining the auditorium with a solid mass of stolid prison guards.

One can understand Hollywood's predilection for type-casting. With his impressive head of white hair and casual manner, Frank Lloyd Wright was every inch the world's greatest architect. Perhaps he was introduced by the unfortunate Warden, but if so I've forgotten it. He stood before us.

What I do remember is the expectant silence which filled the room to bursting point. This extraordinary man appeared to study our faces, each individually. Absently tapping his snowy white front teeth (which I later learned were brand new) with the index finger of his right hand, he supported his elbow with his left hand and continued silently to survey us.

"Well," said Frank Lloyd Wright finally, so quietly that even the most hardened of us criminals held his breath, "I appreciate very much this opportunity of seeing what democracy looks like when it breaks down."

We screamed our delight, stamping our feet, clapping our hands. The fact that the Warden appeared to be suffering from apoplexy and seventy-five guards were fingering their truncheons and blowing their whistles only added to the unforgettable thrill.

Frank Lloyd Wright, who smiled in a saintly way while we went mad, no doubt had us pacifists in mind when he made the remark. But no matter! Murderer, Nazi, thief or "yellowback," here was our Moses to lead us through the prison gates into the promised land of freedom.

Not one word do I recall of the lecture which followed. Afterwards the Warden grudgingly permitted him brief interviews with his two students, and Frank Lloyd Wright went his way. The remainder of his lecture series, I understand, he cancelled.

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About the marchers

PERSPECTIVE, the magazine of the London Schools Left Club, has published the results of its survey of the Aldermaston marchers.

According to the survey, 41 per cent of the marchers were under 21. Of these young people all but 3 per cent. said that they supported the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament for moral reasons.

Seventy-eight per cent. of the marchers read the Manchester Guardian, although the Observer was the most widely read paper of all, only one in five of the marchers not reading it. Fifty-three per cent. of the marchers read the New Statesman; 18 per cent read Peace News.

Thirty-one per cent of the marchers supported the demonstrations organised by the Direct Action Committee at the North Pickenham rocket base. Six per cent supported the Direct Action Committee's "Voters' Veto" campaign.

Besides its survey of the marchers, Perspective contains articles on Cyprus, disengagement in Europe and South Africa. It is obtainable from 76, Eton Hall, London, N.W.3.

A Swiss prophecy

TODAY (Friday) is World Red Cross Day, because it is the anniversary of the birth of Henri Dunant, founder of the Red Cross.

Dunant was a pacifist whose purpose, in the words of Sir Philip Gibbs, "went further than the alleviation of suffering among the wounded. It was to abolish war itself."

It was at the battle of Solferino in Northern Italy, fought 100 years years ago this June, that the idea of the Red Cross was born. From that day the Swiss businessman devoted the rest of his life to creating and strengthening the organisation.

In 1901 he shared the Nobel Peace Prize. Perhaps his most prophetic words are worth recalling:

"Ah, war is not yet dead! If it has changed its form, it is only to become—more terrible. Everything that makes up "Train your noble racehorses for battle. Train your innocent doves to be messengers of destruction. . . . Use the whole creation for your slaughter! Drive all together with you to the blood-bath! But be quick, so that everyone will be ready for the great day of slaughter! Spur on your ingenious inventors who perfect their destructive weapons with such joy and such enthusiasm! Heap honours on them, cram them with gold Vie with each other in destroying the most beautiful masterpieces, the pride of civilisation. . . . But do not forget that then this civilisation, on which you prided yourselves so much, will infallibly lie in ruins, and with it will go your welfare, your trade, your industry, your agriculture, and perhaps also your national freedom and your domestic happiness!"

—Phyz

COUNCIL FOR SURVIVAL

From Gene Sharp

IN response to Pope John XXIII's invitation in January to men of good will (including non-Catholics) for suggestions concerning the holding of a Universal Council, Archbishop T. D. Roberts, SJ, has proposed focussing initial discussions on the "issues of survival and salvation" raised by "the problem of modern war."

The possibility of genocide and mass-suicide presents problems common to all mankind, problems requiring the application of reason, problems whose solution will be aided by the "religion common to all religions."

While a "straight search for religious *unity* raises at present grave difficulties" the focusing of attention on the solution of the problems posed by modern war seems, in the Archbishop's view, more promising of results.

Research on these problems, "already advanced in many countries, could be stimulated if crystalised around an international non-political centre," says Archbishop Roberts. This research could have several foci: "the immense Protestant contributions to the Christian tradition," the "earlier Catholic ones," the "Eastern attitudes like Gandhi's, largely inspired by Christian methods of resistance to evil," the "techniques of non-violent defence advocated on purely strategic grounds but relevant to morality-seeking alternatives to war."

Such discussions conducted on the national level are, says Archbishop Roberts, "liable to be inhibited by politics or vested interests—of which defence is now the greatest.

"By clarifying terms such as defence, pacifism, patriotism, etc., joint action on a world scale might inspire men of good will, stimulate the responsible thought essential to democracy, provide safe tranquilisers for a generation in danger from panic.

"Such action for survival might help to unity in God's own time."

This proposal, developed, with Vera Brittain, before the Institute of International Relations in the USA, is an important one. Once again the former Archbishop of Bombay, now teaching at Gonzaga University, Spokane, Washington, USA, has taken an initiative in questions of deep concern to PN readers.

It is likely to be at least two years before the Universal Council is held. It could make no greater contribution to the fulfilment of religious principles than by bringing religious leaders to grips with the moral issues raised by modern war and the question of survival.

This Catholic initiative could help greatly to break through the disinclination of so many religious leaders to face these issues squarely.

It seems reasonable that "men of good will" throughout the world should also support Archbishop Roberts' response to Pope John XXIII's invitation. There are many who will be keenly interested in His Holiness's reply to this deeply religious suggestion.

On whom the sun never sets



MANY of our readers, we know, send on their copies of Peace News after they have read them to friends overseas, recognising the importance of spreading the news of peace activity as widely as possible.

We recently asked our subscription department for a list of the countries to which copies go direct from our London office (apart from the North American air mail distribution from Philadelphia). This is the list we were given:

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For the most part these overseas readers are people able to exert considerable influence for good in their area, some are newspaper editors, others take time to translate the contents of Peace News for publication in local and national journals. In many instances a single copy of the paper is passed round from reader to reader until it falls to pieces.

The hard cash that is required for the Peace News Fund to keep the paper alive also provides the link with this splendid band of peace workers.

We would like to use up the rest of this page in describing some of the work they do. We must close, however, with the reminder that the PN Fund needs £2,151 by Jan. 31, 1960, if the paper is to continue its work from Iceland to the Solomon Islands.

THE EDITOR.

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Please makes cheques, etc., payable to Lady Clare Annesley, Treasurer, Peace News, 3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4.

Bishop to chair A-bomb discussion

THE Bishop of Peterborough is to chair a discussion on "Nuclear War and the Christian Conscience" in the Town Hall, Peterborough, on May 13 at 8 p.m.

Speakers will be Dr. C. E. Ford from Harwell, Dame Professor Kathleen Lonsdale and Rear Admiral Sir Anthony Buzzard.

On May 15 a "Day of Prayer for Guidance" will be held in the Cathedral with guided meditation from 12 to 2.15 p.m. and 7.45 to 8 p.m.

The programme has the support of the city's Free Church Federal Council.

Briefly

Dr. Frank C. Laubach, American Fellowship of Reconciliation member who has taught many illiterate people throughout the world how to read, will be the speaker in the BBC TV Epilogue on May 10.

Aldous Huxley, Pandit Nehru and Thomas E. Dewey will discuss the problem of the expanding world population in the BBC TV feature "Small World" on May 16.

The US air base at Wethersfield, to which nuclear disarmament supporters will march on May 9, was visited by 67,000 people at its "open day" last year, not six to seven thousand as was reported in Peace News recently.

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MAY DAY

SEVERAL HUNDREDS of young people marched in the pouring rain through London on Sunday in the May Day demonstration organised by the Labour Party. Many of them confessed at the end that they were very depressed by the demonstration. It was not only that the speeches were vague and meaningless; the total demonstration had no quality.

We do not believe that this was the result of the rain alone. The failure of one of the traditional demonstrations of the Labour movement in Britain is indicative of a more serious defect. There seems to us to be something in the very nature of socialism that people find less and less attractive and inspiring.

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WE DO NOT FIND THIS a happy conclusion to come to. The Labour movement in Britain has been responsible for a tremendous improvement in the welfare of the people. For this everybody must be grateful. But there are some problems with which it has singularly failed to come to grips. The most important of these is war.

In the early years of the century, socialists felt that they had the answer to the problem of war. In the case of a war between the Powers, the working class of the participating countries would refuse to have any part in the war, and so bring it to a very speedy end.

But the 1914 war proved that this was a utopian vision. The working classes of all the belligerent Powers in the majority supported their own country. There were, of course, significant exceptions to this—in Britain they established conscientious objection as the central pacifist witness.

The socialist movement never recovered from the 1914 setback. Although there was a strong socialist-pacifist movement in the 'twenties, it broke up under the impact of the rise of fascism. By the end of the 'thirties the socialist movement seemed even more bellicose than the Conservatives. Now the official Labour movement in Britain supports the manufacture of weapons that could kill many millions of people.

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THIS FAILURE to deal with the problem of war is not an isolated matter. There was no general strike against war in 1914 because socialists were too optimistic in their estimate of man. From then on socialists became gradually less optimistic. And so we get a loss of idealism on all fronts.

The idea of the workers controlling their own industry was quietly dropped and when the socialist movement came to power it established bureaucratic nationalised industries which took little account of the need of the worker.

The socialist movement also lost its concern for the quality of men's work. People who say they are opposed to men working underground digging coal are dismissed as impracticable idealists. The movement also lost its interest in the arts and culture—an interest which had been a central part of the early socialist faith.

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ALL THESE PROBLEMS are as pressing as ever, particularly the problem of war. The official Labour movement has no answer to them and very little interest in most of the problems. It is this, we feel, that disappoints young people.

If the idealism of young people is to be tapped we need to develop a social philosophy that is adequate to deal with these problems. We feel that pacifism can do this.

Pacifists have always put their emphasis on the individual human being. They have refused to be taken in by abstractions like "the masses" or "the proletariat." It is this emphasis on the individual that must be the basis of any new philosophy, for only then shall we be concerned with the quality of people's lives.

Pacifism is also a more adequate philosophy than traditional socialism because it is at one and the same time both more pessimistic and more optimistic than socialism. Pacifists believe that people will respond to decent values; on the other hand, they are under no illusion that getting such a response is an easy matter, in which there will be no suffering.

A more realistic view of the world and an insistence on the value of individual human beings; this is what pacifism has to offer. We feel that there can be no better basis for a new approach to our problems.

Fall-out

AN article in the US weekly, The Nation (April 25), by Mr. Walter Schneir, the news editor of an American national medical publication, states that the US Atomic Energy Commission is holding a report which shows that the quantity of Strontium 90 concentrated in the bones of American children up to the age of four doubled in 1957.

Mr. Schneir points out that since the figure "is based on bone analyses made *before* last year's series of American and Soviet nuclear bomb tests began, it is already seriously out of date. There is every indication that the situation is much worse to-day."

The author estimates that the AEC has been "sitting on" the report since January at least. It is entitled "Strontium 90 in Man, III," and is the third of a series drawn up for the Commission as part of "Operation Sunshine."

This week I. F. Stone's Weekly reports from Washington that a team of scientists in Sweden after 10 years of study has come to the conclusion that Strontium 90 may be 60 times more dangerous to humans than the AEC assumes. Meanwhile the AEC has just published *new* regulations which double the amount of Strontium 90 regarded as the safe limit of exposure.

The maximum permissible concentrations of "sunshine units" (to use the official propaganda jargon) according to the Swedish scientists therefore read as follows (with the AEC's *old* figures in brackets): Population 3 (200); Occupational: 30 (2,000); 50-100 per cent increase in leukaemia: 90 (6,000); Bone damage: 500 (10,000); Bone cancer threshold: 750 (50,000).

We publish these figures because the AEC has demonstrated that it is anxious to falsify deliberately any information about radiation hazards which might lead to public alarm.

Because the AEC has shown itself to be untrustworthy, and because we are concerned for what is being done to future generations in the name of security, it is important that other independent reports are published to try to counteract the tremendous publicity given to the official safe reports periodically handed out by the AEC, Prime Minister Macmillan and others.

Nuclear tests have caught the public imagination more than any other aspect of the arms race. If people are kept supplied with information they can be led to ponder why these tests are being conducted and why the policy they represent is not bringing man any nearer to peace than it ever has.

Effects of war

SIR DAVID ECCLES has been telling the Germans how valuable the connection between England and Germany has been. Mr. Gaitskell said a few weeks ago in the House of Commons that we had no quarrel with the German people, only with their leaders.

The years at the end of the war now seem a long while ago. For those were the years of the demand for an unconditional surrender, the years when the TUC passed a motion saying that the German people were collectively responsible for the evils of Nazism. We feel that Sir David Eccles and Mr. Gaitskell were probably sincere in their professions of friendship for the German people and we are glad that a more sane attitude about the Germans now obtains.

But these statements once again point to the whole absurdity of the positions that men are led to adopt. The Germans are inhuman beasts, then they are our friends; the Russians are our glorious allies, then they are our enemies for whom the threat of total extermination is the only sensible attitude. It is an upside down world where today's truths become to-morrow's lies.

What effect do these changes and contradictions have on ordinary people? Surely it encourages them to become cynical about the politicians and to put very little value on what they say.

The effects of war are not only to be measured in terms of physical damage and destruction; it must also be measured in terms of the amount of cynicism and contempt it breeds. Despite Mr. Gaitskell's and Sir David Eccles' sincerity, they are helping to create a world where people don't care about the important issues. We hope they remember this when next they talk about people's apathy.

Spain and NATO

THE plea that Spain be allowed to join the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation has been heard before. But coming from the mouth of General de Gaulle, as the suggestion did last week, it only goes to show how far we have come since the days of the Bourbons and the Habsburgs. The necessities of the power struggle must override the petty jealousies of the past, traditional enemies must shake hands if new war alignments demand it.

There is little doubt that America has long since bestowed her blessing upon the idea. She has expensive property in Spain in the form of air bases. Although General Franco can be relied upon not to bite the hand that feeds him, even dictators cannot last for ever, and there is always the danger that democracy will set in. But with Spain securely welded into the balance of terror set-up its seamy régime would be less likely to break off at a tangent to the power struggle.

There is no reason to suppose that Spain would cause the least embarrassment to NATO, which already has within its ranks plenty of precedent for nearly every type of régime. There are the perennial dictatorships like Portugal, hardy Rightists like Greece, election-cooking Governments like Turkey, with France and Germany fairly new to the dictatorship business but none the less catching up fast under de Gaulle and Adenauer.

America and Britain are not quite in the same category as the older, traditional dictatorships, and in this respect they may be able to pick up a hint or two from Franco if he joins the fold. However, they have not a little to teach in respect of power politics and "defence" imperialism typified by H-tests in international waters and rocket bases in islands of convenience such as Cyprus. America even went so far as a new-style inquisition under McCarthy, while in Britain the people were told by their own Minister of Defence that he was trying to defend the bomber bases, not them.

Somewhere in this gathering process of destruction with its inevitable rider—the withering away of the importance of the individual—someone is likely to remind us that NATO was formed ostensibly to defend freedom. But then, as is clear, whether Spain joins or not, the NATO powers have long since grown accustomed to the "defence of freedom" by an alliance of the unfree.

Indonesia

PRESIDENT SUKARNO'S guided democracy for Indonesia, which he has been advocating for months, is likely to become fact soon after his return from his round of visits to a number of foreign countries.

IN PERSPECTIVE

With a number of different and even mutually hostile régimes now in the world all calling themselves democratic, qualifying prefixes are useful to help innocents to distinguish one from another at sight; and in the case of the Indonesian version the qualifying adjective has the additional merit of meaning something, in considerable improvement upon "people's democracies" and "free democracies," which might be mistaken for advertising slogans.

Before the Sukarno guided democracy can come into being, the present Indonesian constitution must be amended. It is the second since the republic gained its independence, and the third if the one is counted which was drawn up in 1945, while the country was still in revolt against the Dutch.

The form which the President now wants adopted is practically a return to that first one, with the provision that between one third and one half of the members of the parliamentary assembly should be nominated, to represent different groups and sections of the population, and only the others to be elected. In addition to this restriction on the electorate's rights there are to be thirty-five representatives of the armed forces among the nominated members.

On the face of it, this looks very much more like guidance than like democracy, so that it is not likely to please many people in the West—though it will certainly please some.

In attempting to judge the Indonesian situation we have to remember that the change-over from domination by a foreign power to complete self-government must always be particularly difficult if the newly freed people have not had the benefit of gradual preparation.

That Indonesia has not prospered so far under parliamentary régime is simple fact; and to that extent the President's demand for a closer approximation to authoritarianism seems justified—provided it is understood as a mere transition to the liberalism which he now, most unfortunately, derides—together with capitalism—as obstacles in the path of the country's progress.

There is one other disquieting factor in his plans, which, truth to tell, his audience of delegates at Bandung acclaimed with enthusiasm: He wants a five-year presidential Cabinet. All in all, the proposals come dangerously near to the prospect of enduring dictatorship, with only one point remaining quite obscure: whether it would be likely to develop in the direction of National-Socialism or of Communism.

MABEL EYLES

(Duplicating, Shorthand, Typing, Translating)
Private Lessons Shorthand, Typing, English, French, Latin. 10 Beaconsfield Rd., N.11. ENT 3324

PPU RELIGION COMMISSION

Pacifist Universalist Service
3.30 p.m., SUNDAY, May 10
FRIENDS INTERNATIONAL CENTRE
32 Tavistock Square, Euston
Discourse, by Swami Avyaktananda
"CHRISTIAN COMMUNISM"

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CAMPAIGN AGAINST WORLD POVERTY
WHY NOT START A LOCAL GROUP IN YOUR TOWN, OFFICE, FACTORY,COLLEGE
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Write to: Frank Harcourt-Munning, Hon. Director, Central Council for War on Want, 9 Madeley Road, Ealing, W.5

new PEACE NEWS offices

From July 17th

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Can you help?

Contributions to the PEACE NEWS BUILDING FUND will be gratefully acknowledged by Lady Clare Annesley, Hon. Treasurer. Enquiries and offers of help should please be addressed to the Manager, 3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4. (Telephone: STA. 2262.)

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Statement required by the Act of Aug. 24, 1912, as amended by the Acts of Mar. 3, 1933, and July 2, 1946 (Title 39, US Code, Sec. 233) showing the ownership, management, and circulation of PEACE NEWS, published weekly at 3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4 for the year up to 31st March, 1959 and at Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, U.S.A.

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2. The owner is Peace News Ltd., Registered Offices at Dick Sheppard House, 6 Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1.
3. The known bondholders, mortgagees, and other security holders owning or holding 1 per cent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities are: None.
5. The average number of copies of each issue of this publication sold or distributed, through the mails or otherwise, to paid subscribers during the 12 months preceding the date shown above was 9,400. Harry Mister, Business Manager.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 28th day of April, 1959, Dennis Hayes, LL.B., A Commissioner for Oaths, 143 Strand, London, W.C.2.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

TWO VIEWS ON

Nuclear disarmament and the Peace Pledge Union

THE majority of people at the Peace Pledge Union AGM recently felt that they could not endorse the motion instructing National Council and Officers to work with the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament and more particularly the Direct Action Committee.

As a veteran Aldermaston Marcher I can fully sympathise with the fear of making the PPU, which is certainly a more radical movement than CND, in any way subservient to CND. I have yet to be convinced that the participation of an official PPU contingent in the Aldermaston March would have involved a loss of integrity. The Friends marched under the slogan "Quakers say NO to all war." The society and its beliefs are known and respected amongst Marchers. I wish the PPU was known to those thousands of young people!

Let's face it—the PPU could do with some of the dynamic of the anti-H-bomb movement! But, alas, the many PPU members had no official identity. Pacifist Youth Action Group members wore armbands with the broken rifle printed on, and on many occasions we had to explain its meaning.

PPU officers feel strongly that CND and Direct Action are irrelevant to pacifism, but a large proportion if not a majority of members don't agree. Obviously they have no right to bind all members to supporting these movements. Apart from the fact that the PPU would split, the ethics of imposing such a policy are dubious. I would have voted against any such instruction to National Council.

However, the present situation is equally unjust. Every time the Secretary and Chairman attack these organisations they are in effect disowning a large proportion of their membership. Whether or not their attacks are official is a technical point. In effect they are seen to be official by virtue of the offices occupied by the holders of such opinions.

What should the AGM have done? Forced resignations and caused bad feeling or avoid the issue by passing a motion on the liberty of the individual member?

Anticipating this, London PYAG offered a compromise pressing for a sub-committee by which those members wishing to co-operate in supporting CND, but more especially Direct Action, could organise themselves. I would like to express my disappointment in the AGM's rejection of this amendment, and also the fact that the vote was made subject to personal loyalties.—**IAN DIXON, University College, Swansea.**

WE are glad that Ian Dixon sympathises with the attitude of those who do not want the clear pacifist message to be blurred or diminished by an official association of the Peace Pledge Union with the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament.

It is unfortunate and mistaken to translate disagreement with the aims of the CND in relation to pacifism as an attack upon their aims. This is not so. The "officers" of the PPU have never "attacked" the other organisations. Any statement or letter which has been published has been either a reply to some misunderstanding, or a reminder of the official (and not personal) attitude of the PPU, and no one has "disowned" any member of the PPU.

The suggestion that an official PPU contingent should have taken part in the Aldermaston March raises several questions. If the implication is that it would have been regarded as giving some official backing to the March, there has never been any decision that the PPU should officially support the policy of the CND. If it was intended to emphasise that the PPU officially is not satisfied with the aims of the CND, some might doubt whether it would have been any more correct than it would be for a PPU contingent to join in a Communist demonstration for the purpose of emphasising a difference of opinion, or vice versa.

One of the arguments constantly advanced for pacifist participation in CND activities is the opportunity they provide for contact with non-pacifists. It could be argued that such opportunities would be more effectively taken when pacifists mixed up with others on the March or sold Peace News, as Ian Dixon himself did so successfully.

We appreciate the desire of the London Pacifist Youth Action Group to offer a compromise to the PPU Annual General Meeting, and only regret that they did not discuss their amendment with some of us, because we think that they have not fully understood the difficulties involved. The PPU Campaign Committee is charged with responsibility for carrying out in that field the primary purpose of the PPU, as endorsed by an overwhelming vote at the recent AGM. To have set up yet another PPU committee to campaign for a different purpose would have created confusion and caused overlapping. There is nothing to prevent PPU members forming themselves into a committee to support the Direct Action Committee or CND, and indeed we gather that much support for both now comes from pacifist members of local committees.

What would such a new committee do which cannot be done without it? Moreover, consideration must surely be given to the fact that CND have made it clear that they are not pacifist, and do not want *official* pacifist support in case they came to be considered by the public to be pacifist.

As to the question of "personal loyalties" raised by Ian Dixon, National Council agreed that it would only be proper for the AGM to be made aware of all the consequences of accepting the motion "to instruct National Council and Officers," including the dilemma into which it put the Campaign Organiser and the General Secretary, who had no alternative when specially asked at the AGM but to state what their views were. But it is not correct to assume that the vote was "made subject" to personal loyalties. There is considerable evidence to show that Groups had instructed their representatives how to vote and that if the motion had been carried, it would have caused a serious split in the PPU.

We hope and believe that votes were given by all subject to an overriding loyalty to the cause of pacifism in general and to the PPU in particular. That and not the personal position of any member of the PPU, officers or otherwise, should always be the final and overriding consideration.—**STUART MORRIS and SYBIL MORRISON, 6, Endsleigh St., London, W.C.1**

World Peace Council

PACE Professor Bernal, no one of the "nuclear" powers has yet shown by its actions, as distinct from words, that it wants or intends—simply, unconditionally—to test no more nuclear weapons, let alone to give them up.

It is well known that it takes about nine months to prepare H-bomb tests. Therefore it can never be known that any government has suspended—let alone given up—H-bomb tests till nine months have passed since its last test. The Soviet government resumed testing in October, 1958, eight months after its last previous test of March, 1958. Moreover, the unprecedented amount and speed of fall-out on Europe from that March test suggested that something went seriously wrong with it, and that the Russians were forced by an accident to interrupt the series of which it was part. This would account for their being ready to test more nuclear weapon devices so soon as the end of October—these being the devices left over from the interrupted series.

What is more, "failure of unilateral abandonment" of tests can only be failure of the one government itself; unlike failure of conditional agreement to end tests, it cannot be the "fault" of any other. For the essence of unilateral abandonment is that it is abandonment irrespective and independent of what any other government may or may not do. This is simple logic.

Consequently, the Soviet Government has not yet unilaterally suspended, let alone abandoned, tests. Its record, pace Professor Bernal, is no better than that of any other nuclear power. Consequently any Russian movement against nuclear weapons and tests has as much to do against its own government's policy as has any Western movement against its governments.

The National Peace Council and the United Nations Association are not suspect because they do not demand more of this country than of the USSR, whereas the British Peace Committee and the World Peace Council are part of the International Communist Movement, control in the Russian Government in Moscow, whose sincere aim is to use all peoples' desire for peace to win them, their country, and the world to Communism, and who believe sincerely that any means are justified in the pursuit of this purpose.

There is one immediate "common cause" for which all in the movements against nuclear weapons are working; this is "no more nuclear weapon tests." This appears at once the most immediate and urgent physical need, the least difficult goal to achieve, and, if achieved, the greatest possible first step toward an end of production of, and reliance on, nuclear weapons. The government of each nuclear power—each equally—has resolutely refused to end its tests permanently and unconditionally. What use is anything less?

Declarations of intention, negotiations for conditional agreement, do nothing to bring nearer an end to the increase of Strontium 90 in children's and all bones, and of Caesium 137 and other radio-active elements in their and all bodies all over the world.

To demand less than an immediate and permanent end of tests of each power independently is to admit that under certain conditions—at the very least if one party breaks an agreement, in perhaps any particular—nuclear weapons may be tested. This is inadmissible.

Only an absolute condemnation of any test and of any government that tests a nuclear weapon, by world public opinion, can bring about a permanent and complete end.

Thirteen years of talking and testing by the three "nuclear" powers, with the consequences for us all, have taught us that this absolute condemnation is the only effective common action in which we can "combine for our most pressing common cause."—**G. H. PETCH, 22 Lancaster Rd., London, N.6.**

AS a Christian pacifist, a member of PPU, Chairman of our local Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, and a member of the Council of Pax and of the General Council of the British Peace Committee, may I endorse Professor Bernal's letter in your issue of today's date, and issue an urgent appeal for Peace News and some (not many, I think,) members of the PPU., to stop attacking those who want peace but cannot yet accept the full pacifist position. In the present world situation it is literally a matter of life and death that every one who desires peace shall unite to work for it, and if some will not go the whole way with us at least we can work with them as far as they will go. And surely not even the most ardent pacifist believes that war can be abolished *merely* by abolishing weapons?

Unity is strength. Not long ago the whole peace movement was much more nearly united than ever before. The attitude of some contributors to Peace News is destroying that unity and with it any hopes of success.—**REVD. GEOFFREY P. T. PAGET KING, Steenoven House, 16 Aberdeen Road, London, N.5.**

This pamphlet heightens my conviction



By the Very Rev. George MacLeod

I AM grateful for the British Council of Churches pamphlet on "Christians and Atomic War."*

I have accepted pacifism—like most others—by "a majority vote in my mind," by, say, 60 per cent to 40 per cent of my thinking. This pamphlet has heightened my pacifist conviction to, say, 75 per cent against 25 per cent.

I do not write that turgidly. It is the honesty and sincerity of this eirenical document and not its superficiality that deepens my conviction. They do their level best, Christianly, and I am staggered.

There is a valuable Appendix on "Technical information on Nuclear War." We have all read so much—and become so confused—about the power of bombs of varying intensity that a summary by a group that includes a late Under-Secretary for Air and a late Director of Naval Intelligence is valuable. To judge by other authoritative estimates their summary tends to be optimistic—and the more appalling by its restraint.

It is indeed the optimism of the whole report that confirms one's pacifism.

The essential thesis appears to be as follows:

To be realist we must deal with the world as it is, so it starts Defence in Europe, the Middle East and the Far East, with all their sins and tensions. Because there are nuclear weapons "we have to learn to live with them at least for many years." The effect of the largest, however, is such that Christians must not rest till they are eliminated.

terrifying prospect

It is the suggested steps toward elimination that alike are too optimistic in portrayal and too terrifying in prospect.

We must, laboriously, they seem to say, endeavour so to control war that we will never get as far as the big bomb. We must "improve the lower scales of armaments to reduce our reliance on nuclear weapons." This, realistically, lands in the thesis that—while we continue to produce Megatons "just in case"—we must embark more resolutely on producing more "clean" ones of smaller calibre and also increase our conventional forces in the hope that we can limit any sporadic outbreak to an old time, fairly decent, kind of war. Thus the ultimate holocaust might be prevented.

I think the Under Secretary for Air and the Director of Naval Intelligence must have been absent from the particular session when they wrote into the document that in the event of limited war breaking out the West should give notice that we would be confining the war to our smaller missiles.

Had there been atomic weapons in the last war I am prepared to believe both sides would, in inception, have hesitated to use them. But no one will persuade me that Hitler would have hesitated when he finally got to the bunker.

The moment you appeal to Mars, Restraint ultimately takes a holiday. This is so universally known that it is surprising so responsible a group not only have forgotten it but base their essential case on the assumption that protagonists who have opted for war are still engaged in rational negotiation. But it is not just that, still at the political level, they are too optimistic.

The consequence of the solution is terrifying in prospect:

> "The building and equipping of conventional forces able to hold situations at present defended with nuclear weapons will cost the West a lot of money. It is a proper duty of Christians to help our society to see the hard choice with which it is presented, that if it wants to escape present dangers it will be expensive."

Such must suffice as summary of their political assessment: we are to keep the Megaton "in case" (we are even to continue testing to effect a cleaner bomb); we are to increase our production of small tactical bombs; we are to increase our conventional forces.

Well! "If you want peace prepare for war" is one of the world's old maxims! Nor has there been a century in the last two thousand years when it has not been exploded as completely false.

Yet in effect this pamphlet concludes, by the terrifying logic of their own sincerity, that the place of the Christian ("the proper duty of Christians") is to increase the range of armaments whose existence they regret.

doing the splits

THUS sombred, we move with some impatience to Chapter III, "The Christian Approach to the Problem."

Not failing to note that they feel they have been Christianly concerned even in the above political evaluation (because "to face tough and grim reality is a mark of the spirit of Christ"), they now become, for me, strictly unintelligible.

They do not burke the question whether modern "power and force is a proper instrument for nations to use." For answer they seem to me to "do the splits." Church and State must be served. God, to meet us in love, is prepared to come totally defenceless as a child, and to give Himself to death at our hands, bearing our evil wholly Himself. For this reason the Christian Church cannot defend itself by the sword, and its truest glory and defence is the blood of martyrs. The Church exists to be a witness to the things Christ has done, and to conform to them for the sake of all men.

But (they also assert) "the function of government is different . . . (it is) to order the present life of men, resolve conflicts of interest: . . . all that we mean by law." The Christian lives in the tension thus propounded.

Honest as ever, they admit that our Church membership "informs" our duty as citizens, nor do they escape the modern implication of this:

> "There are degrees of force now in our hands to deter the international aggressor which would cause devastation out of all proportion to the gain.
>
> "The use of force . . . is subject to humane laws.
>
> "The tendency in the last two wars has been to throw in all the forces available without restraint . . .
>
> "Nuclear weapons have brought us to the end of that road, and the rest of this chapter is an attempt to turn back along that path to find a better one."

That last sentence for the pacifist reader brings his anticipation to the highest pitch.

But, believe it or not, there is then propounded the essential thesis which this article summarises above: about continuing the Megaton as the ultimate threat; about a vastly increased expenditure on lesser weapons and conventional forces.

Is it unfair to conclude that all they do is (in the light of those last two wars and the vastly more serious modern weapons) to "turn back along that path to find a ". . . worse one"?

A note on personal commitment ends the document. When we have considered—they say—these plans and policies as worthy of advocacy and support by Christians "our duty is only half done." What can the individual do? He can join the Forces; he can join Civil Defence; he can embark on the "War on Want"; he can go about his business "in a temper of unyielding concern for human welfare."

It is fair to add that they allow another course: "He can take a stand of conscientious objection to any participation in defence activity, as an individual act of vocation, come what may."

miscalculation

THREE comments must suffice. The first is that, as usual if I may say so, they have got the pacifist case wrong. Their misapprehension is manifest in their place for the pacifist just quoted.

I know pacifists who have said and done many wrong things. I have said and done them myself. But I have never heard a pacifist build up a rational case for armaments as a citizen and *then* opt out "as an individual act of vocation."

The Christian pacifist acts as a member of the Church—whose function they have so well described—and carries that conviction into his citizenship. We have "turned back along the path" to find the only one a Christian can now protest.

Right at the commencement of the pamphlet in dismissing other possible Christian approaches they make the same miscalculation about pacifists. Making a place for them within the total Christian witness the group record that "those who take this (pacifist) view recognise that it involves them in the agonising dilemma of being inescapably involved in society and yet contracting out of some of their obligations to it."

But that is *not* the dilemma in which pacifists find themselves involved!

When Niemöller was so inescapably involved in Nazi society he did not contract out of it by refusing to obey Hitler. He suffered what a society which had lost its way imposed upon him; he suffered himself to be carried off to prison—and thereby worked as a mighty yeast towards the raising of a new society.

When Bonhoffer did likewise, he precisely left his wife and children to the wolves. God gave them the grace to understand what he had done.

It is the only possible way in which the kingdoms of this world can become the Kingdom of Christ.

minority report?

Here is the only valid relationship between our Church membership and our citizenship.

It is the way of Faith that can lead us to wander in sheepskins and goatskins.

But the way of Faith does not necessarily imply that. "By Faith also" some were chosen of God to subdue Kingdoms. The Group seem to realise this when they put limitation—as we have seen—on our duty as citizens. "The use of force"—they themselves have recorded—"is subject to humane laws."

Modern war is our Hitler, demanding a like sufferance and not a regretful collaboration.

They also, by the way, rather oddly record at this point that there *were* members in the group of pacifist conviction.

I can't help wondering what they did at the meetings! Doodled? Or did they contract out for a coffee? Like so many Germans who neither collaborated with Hitler nor with God?

Would there not have been a place for a minority report? Is the British Council of Churches forever to remain the fortress of the recondite theology boys, throwing a sop to the dear simpletons who are prepared to be thrown to the wolfish secularism of our day?

I only know what I have decided to say to the next of them who says to me "We are so glad, dear man, that your pacifist witness exists among us." About eighty of them have said it to me already, as the latest book on German theology drops from their lap.

I intend to reply (for the first time) "And I dear man, am so sorry that your witness in this regard continues to exist."

● ON BACK PAGE

*2*s. *from* 10 *Eaton Gate, London, S.W.*

DIARY

1. Send notices to arrive first post Mon.

2. Include Date, **TOWN**, Time, Place (hall, street), nature of event; speakers, organisers (and secretary's address).

Friday, May 8

HULL: 7.45 p.m. Co-operative Institute. Public Meeting. Speaker: Rev. Dr. Donald Soper. Film "March to Aldermaston."

TUNBRIDGE WELLS: 7 p.m. "Rosebank," Church Road, Southborough Common. Special Meeting for members and interested friends for the re-forming of local group PPU.

Saturday, May 9

WIMBLEDON: 9 a.m. Wimbledon Public Library, Hill St. All day protest picket to oppose ban against Peace News. Helpers urgently needed. Phone . Charles Skilton, WIM 1209. PPU and CND.

WETHERSFIELD: 9.30 a.m. Braintree Market Place. Protest March to USAAF Air Base on Open Day. 2.30-5.30 p.m. Vigil at Wethersfield, Essex Area CND.

Sunday, May 10

LONDON, W.C.1: 3.30 p.m., 32, Tavistock Square, Euston. Pacifist Universalist Service. "Christian Communism," Swami Avyaktananda. PPU Religion Commission.

WORCESTER: 3 p.m. Friends Meeting House, Sansome Walk. Inaugural and planning meeting. Harold Steele. CND.

Monday, May 11

BIRMINGHAM: 8 p.m. 221 Vicarage Rd., Kings Heath. Group Meeting. Kings Heath and Cotteridge PPU.

Tuesday, May 12

BEACONSFIELD: 8.15 p.m. The Council Chamber. Public Meeting. Michael Scott, CND.

SOUTHAMPTON: 7.30 p.m. Friends Meeting House, Ordnance Road. National AGM Report. Raymond Boniface and Michael Brook. PPU.

Wednesday, May 13

BIRMINGHAM 26: 7.45 p.m. 19 Newark Croft, Sheldon. Group AGM. PPU.

Thursday, May 14

LONDON, E.11: 8 p.m. Wanstead Friends Meeting House, Bush Rd., "The History of Germany," Duncan Watson. PPU.

Tuesday, May 19

LONDON, W.C.1: 6 p.m. 6 Endsleigh St., "The Present Situation in Nyasaland and Rhodesia." Mrs. Coleman of Bulawayo. Central London PPU.

Wednesday, May 20

EDMONTON: 8 p.m. Congregational Church, Lower Fore Street, N.9. Group AGM. "Pacifism in the Nuclear Age." Sybil Morrison; refreshments. PPU.

Thursday, May 21

ALTON: 7.45 p.m. "Hillcrest," Windmill Hill, last monthly meeting until autumn: report on AGM. PPU.

LONDON, E.11: 8 p.m. Wanstead Friends Meeting House, Bush Rd., "The Development of Man and His Alphabet," Leslie Strudwick. PPU.

PALMERS GREEN: 8 p.m. 33 Devonshire Road, N.13. Speaker: Leonard Tomkinson, "China." PPU.

Saturday, May 23

EPSOM: 2.45 p.m. 3 St. Martins Ave (or 3 p.m. outside Myers Hall). Poster Parade for meeting May 25 and Demonstration. Volunteers urgently needed. Phone Grace Smith, Epsom 2711. Epsom and District Peace Fellowship.

Monday, May 25

LONDON: 7.30 p.m. Royal Albert Hall. Public Meeting, "Modern War—a Challenge to Christians." Canon John Collins, Victor Gollancz, Dr. Gruber, Prof. Hromadka, Dame Kathleen Lonsdale, Rev. Mervyn Stockwood, Jill Balcon, John Neville. Friends Peace Committee and Christian Action.

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TUESDAYS

MANCHESTER: 1-2 p.m. Deansgate Blitz Site. Christian Pacifist open-air meeting. MPF.

WEDNESDAYS

LONDON, N.4: 7 p.m. Peace News Office, 3 Blackstock Rd. Pacifist Youth Action Group.

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New hope for Kenya



By FENNER BROCKWAY MP

Chairman, Movement for Colonial Freedom

WHILST awaiting the report of the Devlin Commission on the alleged "murder massacre" plot in Nyasaland, interest has passed to Kenya. Last week's delegation to London, representing the African, Asian and Arab elected members of the Kenya Legislative Council, with the support of Mr. S. V. Cooke, a European elected member, has had a considerable success.

The change in the attitude of the British Government is illustrated by the contrast in the reception given to Mr. Oginga Odinga, the leader of the deputation, on this occasion and twelve months ago.

When he spoke to Members of Parliament last year his plea sounded distant and irrelevant, a voice crying in the wilderness. Mr. Lennox-Boyd had just imposed a Constitution on Kenya, and Mr. Odinga was asking that it be scrapped. He proposed that constitutional experts should prepare a new constitution and that their report should be submitted to a round-table conference representing all races in Kenya, together with the Colonial Office. Mr. Lennox-Boyd rejected this suggestion out of hand. His own constitution must stand.

And now the Odinga proposal has been accepted. What has caused the change?

Don't let it be thought that there has been a change of heart on the part of Mr. Lennox-Boyd or his advisers in Kenya. They have given way to the pressure of opinion and events.

African pressure

The first of these pressures has come from the African people in Kenya and their representatives in the Legislative Council. Although the Africans are not yet permitted a national political organisation, the vitality of their activity in the separate districts has left the Kenya Government in no doubt about their determination. The African elected members in the Legislature have acted with a combination of challenge and reasonableness which has had a profound effect.

The more I see of the Kenya African leaders the more I am impressed. There is Tom Mboya, gentle of voice and manner, and yet clear, strong and decisive. There is Odinga, robust, laughing, plain-speaking. There is Kiume, College lecturer but with the sparkle of a student. A very effective trinity.

The African leadership are conscious of their strength. They know that history, and near history, is on their side. When the Governor announced that the Constitution would not be changed, they withdrew from the Legislature and stayed away. Well, that was that. Both Nairobi and London realised that a Constitution boycotted by the representatives of 6,000,000 people (twenty to one of the population) could not be maintained.

European backing

The second pressure came from the Asian people in Kenya. A great tribute must be paid to them. They were privileged compared with the Africans. They had their members of the Legislature elected by adult suffrage when the Africans were expected to be content with "representatives" selected by the Governor. They had a recognised economic and social status. Nevertheless, their leaders identified themselves with the African claims. In January the elected Indians also withdrew from the Legislature.

A third pressure has come from the more reasonable Europeans. The courageous Mr. Cooke was followed more tentatively by Mr. Michael Blundell, the most influential European. He resigned from the Government to lead a considerable group which, although their manifesto is vague, are also favourable to the idea of a round-table conference.

I think that it is quite likely that Mr. Lennox-Boyd was a party to Mr. Michael Blundell's move. He, too, was under strong pressures. He was apprehensive about Central Africa and he knew that a settlement in Kenya would have conciliatory reactions in Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia. He had insisted that the Europeans (although a minority of only 60,000) must agree to constitutional changes. Mr. Blundell's new moderate group has given him the opportunity to concur without too much loss of face.

But we must not assume that Kenya is yet on the highway to harmonious democracy. The gateway has been opened. The African and Asian members have returned to the Legislative Council. But ahead there are swamps and mountains to be crossed.

The Africans have asked that the objective should be made clear: an integrated society of which every man and woman, irrespective of race, should be an enfranchised citizen. Mr. Lennox-Boyd had not gone as far as that. He has spoken only of a representative Parliamentary democracy. The Africans, Asians and Arabs may accept this for the moment, expecting the constitutional experts and round-table conference to bring clarification; but there should be no doubt that democracy on the basis of adult suffrage is their unalterable aim.

The second difficulty is the certain opposition of the large die-hard section among the Europeans. The urban Europeans in Nairobi and Mombassa may realise that concessions must be made, but the landed settlers, fearful of their White Highlands will no longer remain exclusive to them, will resist bitterly. It remains to be seen how far Mr. Blundell will carry the European community with him.

Above all, there are three immediate issues which must be settled if an atmosphere is to be created in Kenya which will foster agreement.

The first is the ending of the Emergency. It is intolerable that three years after Mau Mau violence ended, the Ordinances and Regulations of that conflict should still operate.

The second is the legalisation of an African political organisation for all Kenya. If there is to be the hope that their advance will now be achieved by political means, the African people must clearly be given the right to possess their own political party on a national basis.

Release these men

Third, detention and restriction without the sentence of a court must end. In the House of Commons last week I asked, as a symbol of a general liberation, that four men should be released.

The first was ex-Senior Chief Koinange, 90 years of age, who was charged with a Mau Mau murder and acquitted. The next day he was arrested and he has been in detention or restriction for seven years. I lived with him on my visit to Kenya in 1950 and I've rarely known a man of more beautiful character.

The second was Achieng Oneko. He was tried with Kenyatta and others for Mau Mau responsibility and was acquitted. He, too, has been detained or restricted for seven years. Many of us knew him in London, a young man peculiarly kindly in everything he said and did. His letters, sad but without bitterness, show that he still has that quality.

The third was B. N. Kamau, who helped Leslie Hale and me when we were in Kenya in 1952, urging Africans not to turn to violence. Kamau's offence apparently is that his brother is alleged to have belonged to Mau Mau. He has been detained for six years without trial.

The fourth was Jomo Kenyatta. He was sentenced to seven years' imprisonment for Mau Mau responsibility. He has finished his sentence, but he has not been released. He is restricted to a distant, isolated village.

There have always been doubts about Kenyatta's participation in Mau Mau; the doubts have been increased by the acknowledged perjury of Macharias, one of the principal witnesses against him. In any case, it is contrary to the principles of British justice that men who have served their sentences should be penalised still further.

To thousands of Africans in Kenya, to thousands throughout the continent, Kenyatta symbolises their struggle for freedom and to exile him for life, which is apparently the Government's intention, is a crime which cannot be forgotten even in the happier circumstances which one hopes are coming to his people and country.

POSTSCRIPT: Ghana and Guinea have set the pattern for the future united Africa. The call which Kwame Nkrumah and Sekou Touré have made for a common citizenship in all the independent countries and for common action to secure the freedom of all Africa is a turning point in the history of the Continent.

The second Accra conference of the nine independent Governments may revise some of the proposals, but unity will grow and will extend to some of the new States, now hesitating, within the French Community. The decisive authority on this Continent is now Africa, not Europe.

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PEACE NEWS

1,193 May 8, 1959 6d. US Air Express Edition 10 cents

Bertrand Russell warns of mankind's peril

UNLESS governments of both East and West change their policy towards nuclear weapons, the human race will not exist at the end of the present century.

That was the blunt warning given by Bertrand Russell to 4,000 cheering people in Manchester last Friday at a meeting organised by the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, the first of a number of CND activities that week-end.

The following day saw 1,200 marching through Glasgow on Scotland's Aldermaston.

Contingents from all the universities and the main towns marched behind the Very Rev. Dr. George MacLeod, Prof. N. Kemmer, Rev. Clifford Macquire, three MPs, John Forman, Emrys Hughes and John Rankin and a number of leaders of the Scottish nationalist movement.

"All the elements that made up the Aldermaston March in the South were gathered in Kelvingrove Park at the close," Campbell Wilkie told Peace News. "Ministers of religion, mothers with children, students, professors, working men."

In London on the Sunday the May Day March and Hyde Park rally took on the apperance of a second Aldermaston, nuclear disarmament symbols were everywhere to be seen amongst the 12,000, and shouts of "Ban the bomb" greeted those Labour spokesmen who failed to take a firm line on that issue.

Learn not to hate

Of the Manchester meeting our correspondent writes:

Lord Russell headed a panel of speakers who told of the "terrible devastation" which will be the fate of mankind in any future war. There were resounding cheers —and later almost £1,000 in contributions —when he told the meeting: "We are all one family. Once people stop hating each other and see that their interests are identical, there will be joy and happiness such as has never existed since man has been on earth."

Lord Simon of Wythenshawe, president of the North-Western region of the CND said in his introductory speech that "absolutely no progress" has been made by governments in the last year toward solving the threat of total war.

Then Lord Russell went on to develop his theme that unless we feel less hatred toward our fellow humans, the race cannot survive.

"Man is like other animals in that he is ferocious," he said. "But unlike most animals his ferociousness is mainly directed towards his own species. In the past this has not been enough to wipe out the species. But now it is—and I have little hope for the future of the human race unless we find some way of ending this mutual destruction.

"We need a new way of thinking and feeling about mankind. We must think of other humans as potential allies and not as enemies. We must learn not to hate."

"Also, the people who control these weapons are under constant nervous strain. They are told that in an emergency they can't rely on orders from headquarters. They must act on their own initiative. This is enough to make him a madman—and if a madman released an attack with nuclear weapons, the whole world would go up."

"There are two questions frequently asked," he went on. "One is about the harm of radio-active fall-out, and the other is about the possibility of detecting nuclear tests.

"When answering the first question governments are very optimistic. They say that the effects of fall-out are too slight to worry about. But with the second question they are pessimistic, and tell us not to believe the scientists, for it is impossible to detect nuclear tests.

"You see, governments always take the view that encourages mass murder."

Dr. Antoinette Pirie, an Oxford University biologist and expert on fall-out, urged the audience: "Support the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament; we can each one of us make our views clear to our MPs, and to our local authorities. Ask your MP what the level of Strontium 90 is in children in Manchester; ask what plans there are to evacuate the whole of Manchester.

Mr. Harry Knight, a leading trade union figure, said that the United States has enough nuclear weapons "to blow the world to smithereens 20 times."

"We can no longer trust the politicians of the world," he declared amid cheers. "We must tell them what to do. We cannot leave it to their fickle consciences. We must have a referendum of all the people in these islands."

Other speakers included the Rev. Michael Scott, Mr. Frank Allaun, MP, and Professor Rotblat.

ONE-MAN WALK TO DORTMUND

HERBERT COMPTON, tall, fair-haired Aldermaston marcher from Australia, set off from Trafalgar Square last Saturday on a one-man protest walk to Dortmund, Germany.



He hopes to support the local protests being made against the establishment of rocket bases in the German town, and also to strengthen the ties between nuclear disarmament supporters internationally.

Among a number of friends and suppoorters who came to see him off and walk part of the way with him were members of the Direct Action Committee, Quakers, members of the CND, and Dr. Frobenius, Peace News correspondent in Frankfurt.

In the Strand, Herbert Compton stopped outside Australia House to hand in a letter to the High Commissioner explaining the object of his journey. Seen above outside New Cross Station he was en route to Dover.

WIMBLEDON PROTEST

Encouraged by the interest in their protest demonstration last Saturday, Wimbledon supporters of Peace News are to picket the Public Library again this Saturday from 9 a.m. to 8 p.m., making known their protest against the decision of the Borough Council not to display Peace News in the Public Library Reading Room. Volunteers should contact Charles Skilton, 31 Parkwood Rd., S.W.19 (WIM 1009).

Swiss action

ON Wednesday a group of Swiss pacifists were setting out on a six-day march from Geneva to Sion in Le Valais canton of Switzerland as a protest against proposals for the extension of the military aerodrome there. The march is not following the most direct route but is making a detour round the northern coast of Lake Geneva, proceeding via Lausanne and Villeneuve where it is hoped that today (Friday) others will join the march.

It is intended that the march shall be followed by a demonstration of the type undertaken at North Pickenham. Those participating are warned to anticipate imprisonment, and as the organisers are putting great emphasis on the non-violent character of the demonstration they are asked to read André Trocmé's "Conditions for Successful Non-Violent Action" and it is also suggested that they might meditate on the Sermon on the Mount, St. Paul's passage on charity in the Epitsle to the Corinthians, and the prayer of St. Francis.

MACLEOD

● FROM PAGE SIX

If really, as they rightly suggest, peace is more than the mere absence of war, it is time for us, within the Fellowship, to sharpen our spiritual teeth—as St. Paul did not hesitate to do—instead of benignly smiling at each other with toothless gums.

The second comment arises from the first.

What really leads the Group astray is their peculiar illusion that "Christendom" continues to exist.

If you try—and how honourably the group has tried—to think in terms of a continuing Christendom you only end by shouting the Creed enshrouded up to the neck with ever more tactical weapons.

Finally I could not agree more with them than when they write:

> "It is part of the secularisation of the times that men think there must be a simple way forward to 'broader sunlit uplands' of historical progress. The Christian, while full of longing and hope, knows that history is not like that. His abiding confidence does not lie in any certainty that history will work to a millenium but rather that it will remain a struggle of good and evil till the day God chooses to complete His purpose."

But is it not their pamphlet which seems to suggest that by a laborious process we must move to "broader sunlit uplands" when we can rationally dispose of the bomb?

Pacifists are not bemused by possibilities of progress. The Church must witness now in terms of the Cross.

"There is one thing mightier than armies, an idea whose hour is come."

By Sybil Morrison

LICENSED MURDER

On that occasion (Borough Elections, 1956) a loud speaker van was heard where many Cypriots live, apologising on behalf of the people of Great Britain for the execution by the Tory Government of two of their fellow countrymen. These two had, in fact, murdered unarmed and innocent people.—Daily Telegraph, May 4, 1959.

THE definition of murder is "unlawful killing of human being with malice aforethought," and since killing in war is accounted to be lawful, "murder" is considered to be an inappropriate word. War is "a quarrel between nations conducted by force" according to the Oxford dictionary, and this definition makes it simple to call any armed conflict, other than one between nations, either "keeping law and order," or "terrorism."

Where there are men organised, drilled and equipped with guns, bayonets, tanks and bombs they are no longer men; they are armies, navies and air forces; they are entitled under modern methods to kill innocent and unarmed people; indeed, even in the not so distant past, when hand-to-hand combats were usual, the seige of towns included the killing and starving of women and children who certainly were not armed, and were entirely innocent.

The sieges of Ladysmith and Mafeking in the Boer War are still within the memory of many living to-day, and though there were no high explosives, nor atomic weapons, there was plenty of opportunity, by depriving the inhabitants of both food and water, to kill the unarmed as well as the armed. This, however, was not designated as murder, but as war.

The two young Cypriots to whom my quotation refers were in fact engaged in a war, but without the cover and the camouflage of a drilled and equipped army. When rebels against an enforced régime are civilians, in a place where there is no army to which they can enlist, but only an occupying army, the attempt to defeat by force that army, which is there to suppress popular objections under the disguise of "keeping law and order," naturally leads to isolated attacks which on a battlefield would be of no outstanding significance, and would certainly not be called murder.

If women and children are mowed down by machine-guns, if civilians going about their business are blasted to death by high explosives, if invalids and old people are blinded and burned and blown to pieces by atomic bombs in war, it may be less, or it may be more horrible than a stab in the back, but it will be "lawful," and whatever retribution is taken will also be lawful.

The killing of innocent people is part of war, and if war is accepted by Governments as a proper means for settling disputes, then it is illogical to claim that Cypriots, or any other suppressed peoples, without organised armies, should not use the same methods. If killing is a means of showing ability to govern, then Cypriots have as much reason to try to prove it by that means as any other.

The two young Cypriots, hanged by the neck until they were dead, three years ago, were in fact murdered as a means to an end; the end that others should be deterred from resisting the British Government in Cyprus by force.

The one democratic right, of which Britons so proudly boast, is the recognition of the supreme value of the individual; to use an individual and to take his life as a means towards preventing someone else from taking life is a fundamental and monstrous denial of the human value of the individual.

If young Marwood should die on the gallows on the day this issue is published he will have died not because it was designed to punish him, not because there was no hope for his redemption, but because he, a living human being, was to be used, like an H-bomb, as a deterrent to others. For that purpose he, a young man for whom the future might yet hold some hope, was to spend three weeks in agonised waiting for the morning when he dropped through a trap door with a rope around his neck.

This is not to condone his deed, nor the deeds of many young Cypriots, but it is to condemn the whole system which licenses killing under certain circumstances and punishes it under others. If the killing of a human being is murder then let us call capital punishment murder, and repudiate it; if the killing of innocent people is murder, then let us call war by that name, and renounce it.

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